

In a free and open society such as Israel's, the only response to terrorism is a determination to go on. In Israel we saw extraordinary creativity, energy and freedom.

Despite their daily brush with terrorism, Israelis are determined to lead ordinary lives. In their very normalcy, they pose a daily challenge to terrorists.

Let us hope that in the future they will not have to try so very hard to lead normal lives. Let us hope that freedom will prevail over terrorism.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER) for his eloquent remarks. As always, he has a lot to say.

Mr. Speaker, there was no vacation that we took. We worked very hard and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) worked us very hard. We were at it early in the morning and until late at night every single day. As a matter of fact, by the end of the trip, I was thankful that we were going home. But because of his leadership, we learned a great deal and we have a much greater appreciation.

Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the leader of this trip, our Democratic whip, for purposes of control.

PEACE IN ISRAEL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) is recognized for the remainder of the minority leader's hour, approximately 29 minutes.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the chief deputy whip, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HILL), not only for his extraordinary leadership on this mission to Israel and to visit with the leadership of the Palestinian authority, Mr. Abbas, but also I want to thank him for his being here this evening. I had intended to be here throughout the course of this special order, but the scheduling was such that I could not be. I thank the distinguished chief deputy whip from Indiana for standing in.

Mr. Speaker, no region of the world in my opinion holds out more promise and presents more peril than the Middle East. Our Nation's security is closely tied to the developments there, from our efforts in post-Hussein Iraq where 130,000 American troops are on the ground today, to our desire to prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons, to the continuing hunt for al Qaeda operatives, to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian crisis.

The United States, Mr. Speaker, has interests and allies throughout the region but we have only, in my opinion, one true friend there, the democratic state of Israel. As President Kennedy remarked 40 years ago, he said this, "We will never turn our back on our steadfast friends in Israel whose alliance to the democratic way must be admired by all friends of freedom."

Today, Mr. Speaker, it is imperative that a new generation of American

leaders recognize the special relationship that has developed between our two nations and understand why a free and secure Israel is vital to America's national security. Indeed, developing a deeper understanding of the U.S.-Israel bond was the purpose of a congressional delegation trip to Israel that I was pleased to lead from August 2 to August 10.

In all, Mr. Speaker, 29 House Democrats made this trip. That is the largest congressional delegation to visit Israel in its history. Our delegation included Representatives from every region of the United States, as well as the territory of Guam. More than one-third were serving their first year in Congress.

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Nearly one-third were women, and for many this was their first visit to Israel.

This was my fourth trip to Israel as a Member of the House. I had been there before, and this was my sixth trip in all.

We made this long journey to see and to learn. We traveled throughout Israel, and visited the Gaza Strip and West Bank as well.

We were privileged to meet with Prime Minister Sharon and members of his cabinet; Labor Party chairman Peres, one of Israel's most distinguished statesmen. We met also with Speaker Reuven Rivlin and members of the Knesset; and in addition to that, we met with the then-Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas, who sadly, subsequently, resigned after being continually undermined by the purveyors of death and destruction in his authority. He led, I think, an effort for peace, but that effort was subverted by Arafat himself.

We also, Mr. Speaker, were privileged to meet with representatives of the academic, religious, press, and medical communities. We saw firsthand the security challenges and realities that confront Israel and were left with several strong impressions.

First, security is an absolute precondition for peace. The much-discussed security fence was regarded as a reasonable attempt by our delegation to reduce terrorist attacks, and events, frankly, subsequent to our trip have not altered that view. However, Mr. Speaker, the route of that fence is an issue and properly continues to be examined.

Secondly, the dismantlement of the Palestinian terrorist organization, all of us believe, was essential if security was going to be effected, which is a precondition for peace, as I have said.

Thirdly, we cannot ignore, we must not ignore morally, politically, or intellectually the plight of the Palestinian people whose cause has been undermined, in my opinion, by the tactics of terror, the incitement to hate and refusal to seek peace.

Our trip, Mr. Speaker, occurred during a 7-week period of relative calm in

that troubled part of the world; but that calm, as all of us know, was shattered on August 19, just a few days after we left, when a Hamas homicide bomber in Jerusalem murdered 22 people, including five Americans, and injured 130 others.

Since then, Mr. Abbas, as I said, has resigned. He resigned on September 6. A homicide bomber killed 19 people in Haifa last Saturday, and Israel retaliated 14 hours later by striking suspected terrorist camps inside Syria on the 30th anniversary of the Yom Kippur War.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear that the continued, unconscionable violence by Palestinian terrorist organizations has left the President's so-called road map for peace in tatters.

I might say that I remember a conversation we had with Mr. Abbas, the prime minister then of the Palestinian Authority. It was on a Monday that we met with him. We met with him in Gaza, and he made the observation that there were thousands of Palestinians on the beach in Gaza enjoying a Sunday afternoon. He had said they had not done that in a very long time because they, too, like the Israelis, are concerned about security. They understand that terrorist attacks bring retaliation. They understand that the violence that the Palestinian terrorists perpetrate begets violence committed against them. The two, in my opinion, are not analogous. One is the cause of the other.

Mr. Speaker, we responded not only deep into the heart of Afghanistan when we thought that they were providing a haven and training ground for terrorists; we destroyed their government and replaced their government and drove them from the land. The Taliban, of course, is what I am talking about; but we know that if terrorism would stop, the chances for peace would escalate geometrically.

The Palestinian side must know the basic precondition for peace is and must be the unconditional cessation of the campaign of terror and violence against Israel. Not only does it undermine the security of Israel, but it undermines the security of the Palestinian people as well.

The United States, Mr. Speaker, stands ready, I believe this Congress stands ready, to work with other nations to obtain a better life for the Palestinian people; but this Nation will always be committed to Israel's survival, security and success as the haven and homeland for the Jewish people. No people on Earth perhaps has been more savaged through the centuries.

My friend, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS), will speak in just a minute. African Americans unfortunately and tragically fall in a similar condition. For us to allow any peoples, whether they be Jewish, African American or Palestinians, to be savaged in a world that calls itself civilized is unacceptable.

We must call, therefore, we must urge, we must demand the cessation of

the use of terrorism perpetrated against Israel, the United States, or any other nation. At the same time, we must seek justice, for without justice, as the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) knows so well, there will be no peace.

ETHICAL AND MORAL QUAGMIRE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MURPHY). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, it is clear to me that the administration has fallen into an ethical and moral quagmire with regards to its policies in Iraq and its efforts to paper over its deceptions.

Yesterday, I asked the political director, Mr. Karl Rove, to step down for his role in the outing of Ambassador Wilson's wife. Last week, I asked the Attorney General to appoint a special counsel, in large part due to the possible conflicts the investigation of Mr. Rove would cause.

I reached these conclusions because of the following. It was just reported in Newsweek that after the initial leak, Karl Rove sought to give the leak wider dissemination by contacting Chris Mathews and stating that Mr. Wilson's wife and her undercover status were "fair game." It was also reported that a White House source confirmed that Mr. Rove had been working the press on the story but had merely told the press it was reasonable to discuss who sent Wilson to Niger.

It is very possible that his actions were illegal under title 18 United States Code 793. If one knows that national security information has been leaked, the person is required to report it to authorities, not to further disseminate it, as Mr. Rove has done.

But even if he has not broken the letter of the law, Mr. Rove's actions are morally indefensible. He has used his influence to smear and intimidate a whistleblower, an ambassador to the United States Government, and to further publicize Mrs. Wilson's name, in fact, a CIA covert operative, and to impugn the Wilsons' integrity. As a matter of fact, according to the New York Times, a Republican congressional staffer said the administration strategy for dealing with the Wilsons was to slime and defend.

There is a clear conflict when one is investigating the White House staff; and as a matter of fact, it has been reported in Time magazine that Attorney General Ashcroft over the years has paid Mr. Rove \$746,000 for campaign consulting in his political races. It has also been reported that Mr. Rove was the driving force behind Ashcroft's nomination as Attorney General. "How the religious right pushed for Ashcroft's nomination," written in the New York Times, January 7, 2001, by David Johnson and Neil Lewis.

We also know that Mr. Rove was reportedly fired from the campaign of President George H.W. Bush over a leak to Robert Novak. "Why are these men laughing," published in Esquire magazine, written by Ron Suskind, January 2003.

Wayne Slater, a Karl Rove biographer, notes a pattern of unethical behavior. He says, "I don't know who leaked what to whom. Most people don't know the facts here. And both Bob Novak and Karl Rove have said it didn't happen. But I have to say that it certainly was consistent with the Karl Rove that I know. If he didn't do this, he certainly has a pattern of activity over the 15 years, 20 years that I've known him where he has done similar things." See CNN, October 1, 2003.

Another Rove biographer, James Moore, thinks that he must have known about the leak and says, "After having watched Mr. Rove for all of these years, I know full well, and anybody who knows the way he works, that something of this nature does not happen without Karl checking the yes box. I'm saying that if Mr. Rove is not involved, I'll eat the paperback copy of my own book because this is a guy who controls everything, and he has a history of putting a layer of protection between himself and other people, using other operatives to get things done." Buchanan and Press, MSNBC, October 1, 2003.

Finally, let us not forget that many have received information that Mr. Rove is the source of the initial illegal leaks themselves. According to the London newspaper, The Guardian, on October 1, several journalists have confirmed off the record that Mr. Rove is the source of these leaks. We know from The Washington Post that fully six journalists were called with the initial leak.

The above information is all publicly available. I do not possess a team of investigators. All one needs to do to gather this information is read the New York Times, Newsweek, The Washington Post, Time magazine.

I will insert my full statement at this point.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear to me that the Administration has fallen into an ethical and moral quagmire with regards to its policies in Iraq and its efforts to paper over its deceptions.

Yesterday I asked Karl Rove to step down for his role in the outing of Ambassador Wilson's Wife. Last week, I asked the Attorney General to appoint a special counsel, in large part due to the possible conflicts in the investigation of Mr. Rove.

I reach these conclusions because of the following:

It was just reported in Newsweek that after the initial leak Karl Rove sought to give the leak wider dissemination by contacting Chris Mathews and stating that Mr. Wilson's wife and her under cover status were "fair game." It was also reported that a White House source confirmed that Mr. Rove had been working the press on the story, but had merely told the press "it was reasonable to discuss who sent Wilson to Niger."

It's very possible that his actions were illegal. Under 18 USC 793 if you know national security information has been leaked, you are required to report it to authorities, not to further disseminate it, as Mr. Rove has done.

Even if Mr. Rove hasn't broken the letter of the law, his actions are morally indefensible. He has used his influence to smear and intimidate a whistle-blower. It is quite obvious he has sought to further publicize Mrs. Wilson's name and to impugn the Wilsons' integrity. As a matter of fact according to the New York Times, a Republican congressional staffer said that the Administration's strategy for dealing with the Wilsons was to "Slime and Defend."

There is a clear conflict whenever you are investigating White House staff. As a matter of fact, Time Magazine has reported that AG Ashcroft paid Mr. Rove \$746,000 in the 1980's and 1990's for campaign consulting on his Senate and Governor's races.

It has also been reported that Mr. Rove was the driving force behind Ashcroft's nomination as Attorney General. "How the Religious Right Pushed for Ashcroft's Nomination," David Johnston and Neil A. Lewis, New York times, January 7, 2001.

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The above information is all publicly available. I don't have a team of investigators. All you need to do to gather this information is read the Washington Post, the New York Times, Newsweek, Time and the like. It's not rocket science, and it's all public information. If you add it up, it's an overwhelming case for resignation and the appointment of a special prosecutor.

President Bush promised to return "honor and integrity" to the White House and "change the tone in Washington." Instead, Mr. Rove's